3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1

from the District Courts' decisions could be taken to the Supreme Court at Tiflis, and from that to Petersburg. The Courts were accessible and cheap, and there was no discrimination between Russian subjects and foreigners in legal proceedings; but judgements given in Russian Courts had no effect in England, nor decisions obtained in England in Russia.

The Cossack communities are divided into *stanitzas* or villages, each *stanitza* having an elected assembly of 30 members; in populous *stanitzas* one man is elected from every ten households. These assemblies have wider powers than the usual *mir* or commune, viz. division of land, assessment of taxes, regulation of schools, grain stores, cultivation, &c., and the election of elders (*ataman*) and judges.

When the Revolution occurred in 1917, the Viceroy was recalled, and the various nationalities in the Caucasus arranged representative National Assemblies; but, as chaos in the Empire increased, relations were broken off with the Central Government. A separate Transcaucasian Republic was formed, in the Government of which Armenians, Tatars, and Georgians were equally represented; and another new state called the Republic of Daghestan, under the presidency of a Lesghian of the Mohammedan faith, also emerged. The Cossacks, however, remained aloof.

(3) Educational

Public education was in the hands of the State, or was directly controlled by it. The number of persons able to read or write in the Caucasus in 1912 was only 17 per cent., and the percentage of schools to the population was very low. Some progress was made in the provision of instruction during 1912 and 1913, but the outbreak of war hindered the completion of the various schemes put forward, in particular by the towns of Anapa, Novorossiisk, Yeisk, Temryuk, Maikop, Grozni, Georgievsk, Pyatigorsk, and Stavropol in

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1

sternly repressed, left seeds of unrest behind them; and the provinces were probably on the road to a serious effort to secure autonomy, when the European War, and later the Russian Revolution, shattered the existing system. Since May 26, 1918, when the Transcaucasian Diet proclaimed its own dissolution, there have existed three independent republics in what used to be Russian Caucasia—the Armenian Republic, the Georgian Republic, and a Tatar Republic in the eastern Caucasus. Of these the eastern republic presents by far the most formidable problem. It is manifestly impossible to leave the Tatars of the eastern Caucasus, with the wild hill-tribes of Daghestan, to their own devices. The vital importance to Europe of the oil-fields in this region makes the problem here exceptionally pressing.

had the right to change masters, and who were protected against arbitrary sale; and the slaves, who were for the most part prisoners of war. Very definite laws regulated the rights and duties of the various castes, and intermarriage was forbidden. On the other hand the princes[1] exercised little real authority; leadership in war was not an hereditary right, but leaders were elected from the families of the princes and nobles by a popular assembly of the four highest classes; while judges were nominated by popular vote, with powers only for a single day.

The social organisation of the Cherkesses was in many respects anarchical, for not only was every tribe independent, but every noble's household within each tribe. Nevertheless the general conduct of the people was subject to a series of established customs, based on primitive conceptions of chivalry, respect for age, hospitality and blood-vengeance. The sons of nobles were educated in a long and difficult course of knightly training by cadet members of other noble families, who stood in the joint relation to them of tutor and blood-brother. The women had few rights, but the rights of protection by their fathers and husbands were very clearly defined.

The eastern tribes occupied the country between the Daryal and the Caspian littoral, and from the right bank of the Terek to the hills overlooking the valleys of the Alazan and the Kur. On the north, inhabiting the highlands of the Terek, the Sunja and the Argun, were the various tribes of Chechens, and the lesser related tribes of the Ingushes, the Kists, the Itskheris and the Galgais. Segregated in unapproachable villages (*auls*) in the depths of primæval beech-forests, the Chechens had a culture which was far less developed than that of the Cherkesses. They had no class system, and lived together in small anarchical communities.

South-east of the Chechens were the powerful Lesghian tribes, scattered over Daghestan ("The Mountain Country"), which formed an elevated table-land through which innumerable rivers had cut channels to a depth frequently of thousands of feet, the whole being backed and ribbed south and west by mountain chains with several peaks over 13,000 feet in height. The principal Lesghian tribes were the Kubachins and Darghis on the north-east, bordering the Chechen country, the Kazi-Kumukhs of the central plateau, the Kurins and Tabasserans of the south-east, overlooking the Tâtar lowlands of Shirvan, and the Avars, Andis and Didos on the west, bordering on Kakhetia.

1 [of the Cherkess--Analyst]

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

[1811-1917]

Democrats, Georgians, Armenians and Tatars, in spite of their internationalist ideals, soon became involved in the real and bitter racial antagonisms of the uneducated mass of the Christian and Mussulman peasantry. And the situation was further complicated, on the one hand by the intrigues of the Mussulman parties with the Turkish Command and by the effects of the propaganda of Turkish agents; on the other by the anti-Mussulman violence of the Armenian Dashnakists and by the reflex on Tatar-Armenian relations of the reciprocal atrocities committed by Mussulmans and Christians in the war-area of Turkish Armenia. 669

It was in the Northern Caucasus that a separatist movement first assumed definite form in the proclamation of the autonomous "Union of the Peoples of the Northern Caucasus" at Vladikavkaz in May 1917. But in Transcaucasia separatist tendencies were soon afterwards manifested in the demand for the reunion of all Armenian and Georgian contingents on the Polish front, and their concentration in the Caucasus.

The Bolshevist *coup d'état* at Petrograd in October 1917 marked the opening of the next phase of the Revolution. In the Northern Caucasus the conservative leaders of the North Caucasus Union naturally repudiated the Soviet Government, and associated themselves with the "South-eastern Union" formed by Messrs. Miliukov, Guchkov and Kharlamov, Gen. Alexeiev, and the Hetman of the Don Cossacks, Gen. Kalédin. The South-eastern Union made a desperate effort to reconcile the growing differences of the Cossacks and the mountaineers —differences which had already resulted in fighting—by engaging the former to cede certain disputed districts. The result was the defection of the Terek Cossacks who, in conjunction with Bolshevist troops returning from the Turkish front, attacked the mountaineers. On December 2, the independence of the "Union of the Mountaineers" was proclaimed, and a Provisional Government, at the head of which was a wealthy Chechen landowner, Colonel Tapa Chermoiev, was formed pending the convocation of a Russian Constituent Assembly. An organisation of local tribal autonomy was established, and the seat of the central authority was fixed at Vladikavkaz. 669 642

At the beginning of 1918, however, Bolshevist and Cossack forces advanced along the railway-line from Mineralnaia Vody to Beslan, and the mountaineers, who lacked munitions, were forced, after some severe fighting, to withdraw from Vladikavkaz and Grozni, and to remove their capital first to Nazran and later to Temir-Khan-Shura.

5: Allen H-4 (no date) 1923 RH1 Caucasia RH1

669 In the Transcaucasus a Social Democratic "Commissariat" had superseded the "Caucasian Committee" at Tiflis. This
642 body, which represented all nationalities (three Georgians, three Armenians, three Tatars and two Russians) was presided over by the Georgian Gegéchkori. It drew its authority from a "Transcaucasian Seim" composed of the Caucasian members of the recently elected All-Russian Constituent Assembly, with the further addition of two members for each original one, the various parties increasing their membership in proportion to the last election figures. Further, the Commissariat and Seim worked in conjunction with the various Workmen's, Soldiers' and Municipal Councils, and with Georgian, Armenian and Tatar "National Committees."

In spite, however, of this inevitable organisation on nationalist lines, the Commissariat still endeavoured to maintain the co-operation of the different races and the principle of unity with Russia; and at the Georgian National Congress in November 1917 the Georgian Social Democratic leaders Jordania and Chenkeli emphasised these principles.

VI

RECENT HISTORY

726 As in Russia, the most urgent necessity for Georgia was the conclusion of an early peace. The Turkish commander on the
648 Turko-Caucasian front, Ferik Mehmed Vehib Pasha, proposed a cessation of hostilities at the beginning of December, in accordance with the action of the German General Staff on the Polish front, and on December 14 General Prjevalski, who still held nominal command of the Russo-Caucasian troops, signed an armistice at Erzinjan. During the following month the anarchy behind the Russian lines increased. Turkish agents were active in the Muhammadan districts of Transcaucasia, encouraging the Tatars and Ajars to attack the disorganised bodies of Russian troops who were making their way home through Transcaucasia. Armenian bands were attacking Turkish villages in the Russian area, and were preparing a desperate resistance to the Turkish advance.

In mid-January 1918 the Ottoman Government made a further *démarche*, addressing itself now to the "Independent Transcaucasian Government," which it invited to participate in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. It was a development of the Turkish policy, revealed at the outbreak of war, of constructing

C. A. 608 way, though all the members of a clan claim a common descent from the same ancestor, this descent is largely fictitious.

C. G. 565 642 Clans naturally differed in size and wealth, and this led in many parts of the Caucasus to a differentiation of classes and to a feudal structure of the society (Kabarda; lower regions of Dagestan). In Transcaucasia there was a further development into feudal monarchies (Georgia, Armenia). The original tribal structure was best preserved among the Georgian highlanders, the Svan, some of the W. Circassian tribes, the Ossetes, the Chechen and Ingush, and the tribes in the higher parts of Dagestan. For instance, the Pshav tribe (dziri, lit. "root") is divided into eleven clans (temi); the members of each clan bear the same name, but in everyday life are known under a second family name (gvari) derived from the proper name of a grandfather or great-grandfather. If a family expanded, new surnames were adopted. Where a differentiation of classes took place, the general pattern was the following. The upper class consisted of the nobility, in its turn subdivided into various ranks in the regions with more pronounced feudal traits (Georgia, Kabarda). The lower class consisted of the peasants; here too, a further stratification existed, depending on differences in degree of economic and personal freedom. The lowest classes were the slaves; mostly prisoners of war. In

C. G. 619

C. G. 565

C. G. [567]

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl

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CONSTITUTIONS OF THE ARMENIAN, AZERBAIDZHAN AND GEORGIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Brief Statement on their Peculiarities

All these Soviet constitutions, including that of the U. S. S. R., seem to have been neatly fitted into one matrix, cast in the same foundry. Their lengths, their chapter headings, and even the order of their subdivisions as well as their contents do not vary much. Even so and notwithstanding the paramountcy of the Union's unrelenting administrative, legislative and judicial control of the activities of these republics, and the unchallenged dictatorial rule of the authorities in Moscow, there are certain variations, perhaps meant to be in form only, in some of these constitutions, These variations do not in any sense constitute deviations from the much publicized "socialist in content and nationalist in form" slogan. Some of these are, of course, variations merely in phraseology, while others seem to imply something more. These variations or peculiarities as found in the constitutions of the three Caucasian republics are herein noted in their context, and then they are compared with those found in the constitutions of other Soviet Socialist republics.

In one particular respect all 16 of these constitutions may be divided into two large

642 categories: the constitutions of unitary republics, and those of non-unitary or multiple-unit republics. In the first category are:

the Armenian SSR	the Kirghiz SSR
the Belorussian SSR	the Latvian SSR
the Estonian SSR	the Lithuanian SSR
the Karelo-Finnish SSR	the Moldavian SSR
the Kazakh SSR	the Turkmen SSR

the Ukrainian SSR

These unitary republics do not have any autonomous SSR, or autonomous region, or area within their boundaries, and their constitutions are not burdened with the enumeration of governmental officials for the administration of these component parts. For that reason they are shorter, having no more and no less than 11 chapters.

In the second category, or the non-unitary or multiple-unit class, are the following:

the Russian SFSR	the Georgian SSR
the Azerbaidzhan SSR	the Tadzhik SSR

the Uzbek SSR

All of these republics have, within their own boundaries, at least an autonomous SSR, or an autonomous region or area. And the rather detailed description of their governmental machinery in the respective constitutions add considerably to their lengths. That is why the RSFSR, the Azerbaidzhan and the Georgian constitutions are 14 chapters each, and the

42 Tadzhik and Uzbek constitutions have 12 and 13 chapters respectively.

Chapter I: the Social Structure

Article 2 of the Georgian Constitution states that the Georgian SSR is "firmly established as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and the capitalists and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat." This is almost verbatim from the Union Constitution. But the Armenian and the Azerbaidzhan versions of this Article are longer and somewhat different. Therein we have the Armenian SSR growand become strong

> as the result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists, the liberation of the Armenian people from the national oppression of tsarism and of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie, the defeat of the Dashnak nationalist counter-revolution ... .

In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution the version is practically the same except that the "nationalist counter-revolution" is not identified with any one group as it is done in the Armenian Constitution.

Chapter II: the State Structure

In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution Article 13 deals with the constituent units in the republic, merely mentioning the autonomous republic and the region within its jurisdiction. In the

642 Georgian Constitution Article 14 describes in detail the duties and functions of officials in the social, political and cultural spheres in such units in the Georgian SSR. The Armenian Constitution, for reasons given above, has nothing under this head. What is included in the Georgian Constitution under Article 14 on the functions and duties of the government, is covered under Article 18 of the Armenian Constitution, and under Article 19 of the Azerbaidzhan Constitution.

Chapter III: the Higher Organs of State Power

642 646 Article 21 of the Armenian Constitution provides that the members of the Armenian Supreme Soviet be elected for a term of four years, on the basis of one deputy for "every 5,000 of the population". In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 25) this provision calls for one deputy for every 10,000 inhabitants, while according to the Georgian Constitution (Article 29) there is to be one deputy for every 642 15,000 inhabitants. The Presidium of the 643 Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR is made up of 13 members (Article 28); the same number holds for the Azerbaidzhan SSR (Article 31), but the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR is composed of 17 members (Article 34).

642 Chapter IV: the Organs of State Administration

645 All three constitutions enumerate the ministries in the Council of Ministers of

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645 the respective republics. The list of the Azerbaidzhan SSR is longest with 32 ministries, including the chairman and two vice chairmen; the Armenian SSR has 29 ministries (there are no ministries for forestry, fish industry, and state farms), while the Georgian SSR has 30 (no ministries for fish industry, and for state farms). There are in all three constitutions two categories of ministries: Union-Republic ministries, and Republic ministries. The number of the first group varies, but that of the second group remains more or less constant; there are 6 of these in nearly all republics. The Armenian SSR has (according to Article 53) 18 Union-Republic ministries; the Grorgian SSR (Article 55 of its Constitution) has 19, while the Azerbaidzhan SSR has 21 (Article 55).

Chapter V of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 55-76 as well as Chapters VIII of the Azerbaidzhan (Articles 86-105) and of the Georgian Constitution (Articles 84-111) are devoted to the "local organs of state power". In both the Azerbaidzhan and Georgian Constitutions these chapters are more detailed and longer than what is found in the Armenian Constitution. It is interesting to note that by Article 71 of the Armenian Constitution the Ministry of Internal Affairs is empowered to set up "its own administration under the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies in

accordance with the conditions of the district ..." The same is found in the Georgian Constitution (Article 103), while according to the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 101) this work devolves upon the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of State Security.

Chapter VII of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 81-92) as well as Chapters X of the Azerbaidzhan (Articles 110-124) and of the Georgian (Articles 117-130) Constitutions deal with the courts and the procurator's office. Article 86 of the Armenian Constitution states that court proceedings are to be conducted in Armenian, and when necessary in the Russian and Azerbaidzhan languages. The Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 117) is just as explicit on this matter: proceedings are to be conducted in Azerbaidzhan, and when necessary in the Russian and Armenian languages. But the provision under this head in the Georgian Constitution (Article 124) is not set forth as explicitly. Therein the said Article reads:

> Judicial proceedings in the Georgian SSR are conducted in the Georgian language, or in the languages of the Autonomous Republics or of the Autonomous Region, persons not knowing these languages being guaranteed the opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material in the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

000 This is rather striking in the Constitution of Stalin's native land.

642 641 Chapter VIII of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 93-108) as well as Chapters XI of Azerbaidzhan (Articles 125-140) and of the Georgian (Articles 131-146) Constitutions deal with the fundamental rights and duties of citizens. There appears, in all three constitutions, the following striking statement: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." The separation of church and state is also mentioned, but no mention is made of mosques in the Azerbaidzhan Constitution.

642 Chapter X of the Armenian Constitution (Articles 119-122) and Chapter XIII of the Georgian Constitution (Articles 156-161) deal with the official language, the coat of arms, flags, etc. of the respective republics, and the corresponding chapter in the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Articles 151-153) does the same but the official language is not mentioned at all.

In attempting to set forth certain peculiarities found in the three Caucasian Constitutions against those found in other Soviet Socialist republic constitutions, only striking, important peculiarities will be noted.

On the attainment of their Soviet socialist goals, both the Armenian and the Azerbaidzhan Constitutions, as stated above, refer to the "national oppression of tsarism and of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie,

642 and the defeat of the nationalist counter-revolution..." The Georgian Constitution, on the other hand, as well as that of RSFSR, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Moldavia, makes no reference to tsarist oppression and the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie, while all others do, including the Karelo-Finnish Constitution. The omission of any such reference from the Constitutions of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Moldavia seems valid enough (they all were created in 1940), but its absence in the Constitutions of RSFSR and Georgia is difficult to understand and interpret. Here one encounters an anomaly based on unreality. Under this head, and with reference to nationalist counter-revolutionaries, in all of these Constitutions except where no reference to them occurs, these counter-revolutionaries are denominated as "nationalist." But in the Armenian and Kirghiz Constitutions they are specifically named as "Dashnaks" and "feudal bai". This is. in some sense. unusual.

The three Caucasian Constitutions make no reference to small peasant holdings and private trade; nor do any of the Constitutions of the other 11 original republics, but in these of the 4 post-World War II republics (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Moldavia) small private industry and trade, as well as small land holdings by the peasants were permitted, at least on paper. No reference is made to such matters in the Karelo-Finnish SSR Constitution.

642 With reference to official languages, it was observed that only the Armenian and Georgian Constitutions stated that Armenian and Georgian were the official languages in these respective republics. These two seem to be the instances where this matter is specifically dealt with by constitutional provision; all other Constitutions are silent on this matter. As to the language or languages in which laws and decrees may be published, or the languages in use in court proceedings, peculiarities exist. The Armenian and Azerbaidzhan Constitutions call for the publication of laws in the Armenian, Azerbaidzhan and Russian languages. In the Constitutions of the Belorussian, Estonian, Karelo-Finnish, Kazakh, Latvian, Lithuanian, Kirghiz, Moldavian, Tadzhik, Turkmen, Ukrainian and Uzbek republics their publication in Russian, in addition to the language of the given republic, is made mandatory. These same Constitutions also call for the use of the Russian language as an alternative language in court proceedings. But the story told in the Constitutions of Georgia and of RSFSR is different. In these republics laws are to be published only in Georgian and in Russian and court proceedings are also conducted in Georgian and in Russian. This is another startling peculiarity, especially in the case of Georgia.

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646 The most common and varying peculiarity is, of course, the basis of the number of deputies each SSR republic is to have in its Supreme Soviet. Here the number varies from one for each 150,000 inhabitants (in RSFSR) to one for each 5,000 inhabitants (in the Armenian, Karelo-Finnish, Kirghiz, Tadzhik and Turkmen republics). In the Azerbaidzhan SSR the ratio is one for each 10,000, and in the Georgian SSR, one for every 15,000 inhabitants.

642 There are also such minor peculiarities as in the distinctive features in coats of arm, flags, etc., and of course the fact that each has its own principal city as its capital. It is also worth noting that in the Constitutions of the three Central Asian republics (Kazakh, Turkmen and Uzbek) the separation of schools from mosques and other religious institutions is mentioned. In the Azerbaidzhan Constitution (Article 131), however, the word "church" in place of "mosque" is used.

Article 16 of the USSR Constitution (English translation published in Moscow, 1954) states that the constitution of the republics "takes account of the specific features of the Republic andis drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the U. S. S. R." This general but rigid conformity with the USSR Constitution is most striking throughout all the constitutions examined, and the few peculiarities allowed to creep into them have been enumerated above.

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
[Adige] Caucasia RH1

Ca. 175 that Russia would not fight for the barren Caucasus mountains if she were really as great and mighty as was sometimes asserted by some mountaineers who had seen her immensity and later returned to their own people.[1]

THE FIRST EXODUS OF THE MOUNTAINEERS

Ca. 175 167 The mountaineers of the Western Caucasus – the Circassians or the Adyge – who had lived close to the shores of the Black Sea, occupied particularly important strategic positions. In every war which Russia waged against Turkey the fearless Circassians had constituted a grave menace in the immediate rear of the Russian Caucasus front. The alternatives, from the Russian point of view, therefore, could only be either the total surrender or the total annihilation of the Circassians. As only a minority of the Circassians were ready to accept surrender, a mass migration of the Circassians to Turkey appeared the only possible 'solution', both to the Russian conquerors and the Circassians themselves, whose indomitable spirit of freedom could not be reconciled with Russian rule.

Thus between 1861 and 1864 about 500,000 Circassians left the Caucasus; but owing to starvation, disease and the hardships of the journey in overcrowded vessels, it is said that only half of them ever reached Turkey alive. Referring to this trek of the Circassians a semi-official Russian publication admitted that 'a calamity of such proportions has rarely befallen humanity'.[2] This great exodus of the Circassians disposed of the problem of nationalities in large areas of the western part of the North Caucasus region and opened them up to Russian, Ukrainian and Armenian colonization.

After the departure of the Circassians a great deal still remained to be done in the North Caucasus region from a Russian national point of view. Although thousands of Chechens, Nogai Tartars and Ossetins had likewise participated in the great exodus, these and other peoples of the Central and Eastern Caucasus continued to be a source of uneasiness to the Russian State. Complete Russian victory over the rebellious mountaineers was achieved only under the Soviet régime.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CHAOS IN THE SOVIET CAUCASUS

S.U. 234 563 Ca. 642 The Russian communist leaders came to the Northern Caucasus with progressive ideas and plans for raising the material and cultural level of its peoples. The Soviet Government was originally even determined to give the small mountain peoples a chance to combine their forces and thus become a political factor of some importance. In accordance with the wishes of the more advanced mountaineers the Soviet Government decided that there should be one United Northern Caucasus

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1

Republic aggregating approximately 1,500,000 inhabitants. This Republic – officially called 'Autonomous Mountain Socialist Soviet Republic' – (Gorskaya A.S.S.R.) – was formed by a decree of January 20th, 1920. Its capital was the city of Vladikavkaz. The Republic comprised no fewer than seven different Caucasian peoples: Kabardinians, Chechens, Circassians (Cherkess), Ingush, Ossetins, Balkars and Karachay.

In its original form the Mountain Republic remained in being for only about twenty months. The Russian communist rulers apparently felt that the promotion of unity among the North Caucasus peoples was not in the interest of Soviet centralism and that it was safer to have them split up again into several single units. The disintegration of the Mountain Republic started in September 1921 when the Kabardinians were given a special Autonomous Province. In January 1922 three more peoples seceded from the Republic. The Balkars were made to join the Kabardinian Autonomous Province and the Karachay and the Cherkess were given a joint Autonomous Province. In December 1922 the Chechens were induced to set up an Autonomous Province of their own, which left only the Ossetins and the Ingush, in the Mountain Republic. In July 1924 both these peoples were endowed with separate territorial units of their own. The experiment of a united North Caucasus Republic was thus finally terminated. Administrative changes in the Northern Caucasus continued even after the end of the Mountain Republic. In April 1926 the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Province was divided into two provinces; and in January 1934 the Ingush merged with the Chechens into a single Autonomous Province.

The autonomy which the Northern Caucasus peoples had enjoyed existed very largely on paper. In reality they were administered up to 1934 from Rostov, the capital of the huge North Caucasus Territory, which was almost as large as Great Britain and Eire combined. The Executive Committee of the North Caucasus Territory (Krayispolkom) was entitled to overrule any decisions taken by the various Autonomous Provinces. In 1934 the Soviet bureaucracy administering the multinational parts of the North Caucasus region moved from Rostov to Vladikavkaz. Only in December 1936 did the mountaineers gain a greater say in the management of their affairs through the transformation of three Autonomous Provinces into Republics (Kabardinian-Balkar A.S.S.R., Chechen-Ingush A.S.S.R. and Northern Ossetin A.S.S.R.).

The repeated shifting of the Northern Caucasus peoples from one territorial unit to another had left untouched the real problem: how to make the mountaineers into reliable Soviet citizens and how to associate them with the socialist transformation of society. The continual changes in the administrative boundaries had hindered rather than encouraged these tasks. They had rendered particularly difficult the recruiting of administrative personnel from among the local peoples and the intro-

*[Cf. category 642, p. 182 -- Analyst]

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RR1

S.U. 523 Ca. 692 E47

duction of their languages for official use. In other words, the Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus remained unsuccessful, and an endless stream of statements, ordinances and recommendations issued by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee (TsIK) in Moscow had been unable to remedy the situation to any major extent. On May 10th, 1931, for instance, TsIK circulated a decree to the effect that Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus should operate at a quicker pace. The decree stipulated that by the end of 1932 at least 70 per cent of officials in the Autonomous Provinces should be recruited from among the local nationalities, and that local languages should be introduced into the administration. On July 5th, 1934, TsIK issued a statement recognizing that the decree put into force over three years earlier had remained a dead letter. A further decree which Kalinin signed on January 7th, 1936, again denounced the non-implementation of the Soviet nationalities policy in the Northern Caucasus and revealed that the Russian language dominated everywhere in local government bodies, from the provincial administration down to the village councils. Of 1,310 officials in the Northern Caucasus Territory only seventeen belonged to the mountain peoples. According to the new decree the local languages were supposed to come into official use in 1936 and 1937, but it is open to doubt whether that order had any greater practical results than its predecessors.

THE SECOND EXODUS OF THE MOUNTAINEERS

Ca. 669 S.U. 687 672

The Russo-German War fully revealed the discrepancy existing between propaganda and reality with regard to conditions in the Northern Caucasus. One could hardly find a better example of the former than the optimistic and distorted picture which Mikhail Kalinin gave in October 1942 when the German troops were approaching the Caucasus Mountains. Kalinin then said: 'The Caucasus is the most enlightening demonstration of the reforming, beneficial effect of the Soviet sytem on the psychology and character of people who, not without reason, saw danger to themselves everywhere. The Caucasians have now become a social people who see in the collective system their bulwark, the foundation of material prosperity and a higher intellectual life. . . . The whole Caucasus has become one mountain village for its peoples. The whole Soviet land, from border to border, has become their beloved home. National enmity has given way to mutual understanding, estrangement to co-operation. . . . Is not everything that has taken place in the Caucasus during the twenty-five years of Soviet power a miracle? Yes, it is a miracle. It is that for which Lenin fought all his life, that for which Stalin fought and is fighting, that to which our party has always aspired.' And Kalinin went on to say that the peoples of the Northern Caucasus were

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union R1
Caucasia RH1
[Osset]

territory comprising 1,200 square miles was a national triumph for Georgia, for it enabled her, for the first time, to spread out to the north of the Caucasus.

S.U. 563 634

A 'GOOD' PEOPLE – THE OSSETINS

After the expulsion of the Chechens from their homeland the Ossetins became the largest mountain people of the Northern Caucasus. In 1939 there were altogether 354,000 Ossetins in the U.S.S.R. of whom slightly less than two-thirds lived in the Autonomous Republic of Northern Ossetia, with which we are here primarily concerned, and about one-third in the Southern Ossetin Autonomous Province of Georgia. The two Ossetin territories adjoin each other and it would have been logical to amalgamate them into a single Autonomous Republic. Representatives of the two Ossetias went to Moscow in October 1925 to discuss the unification of their people with the Soviet central Government and personally with Stalin whose own mother is of Ossetin origin. This discussion which is briefly referred to in the seventh volume of Stalin's complete works, was inconclusive. The unification of the Ossetins would have been possible only at the expense of Georgia and the Kremlin was apparently not prepared to harm the interests of one of the constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. for the sake of a minor nationality.

Ca. 101 [62] 642 S.U. 563 631

Czarist and Bolshevik authorities agree in their appraisal of the comparatively peaceful and placid Ossetins, no less than in their judgment on the turbulent Chechens. Of course, both régimes had encountered difficulties among the Ossetins, too, but never on the same scale as in the case of other Caucasus mountain peoples.

Ca. 181

Czarist Russia started the conquest of the Ossetins in the period of Catherine II and skilfully exploited the class differences among them as well as their hostility toward their western neighbours – the Kabardinians. Many Ossetins considered the establishment of Russian rule as a safeguard against the danger of attacks by more warlike mountain peoples. Ossetin folk-songs of the early epoch of Russian conquest reflect a pro-Russian spirit and state unequivocally that living under Russian rule was identical to living in peace.

Ca. 175 177

The Ossetins appreciated that Russian occupation and protection enabled them to settle in the plain from which they had been driven by the Kabardinians. Part of that re-settlement had already started in the second half of the eighteenth century. The major part of the re-settlement action was, however, carried out much later, between the twenties and the forties of the nineteenth century.

The Ossetins were of use to Russia not only as settlers, but also as soldiers. As early as the last years of the eighteenth century a number of Ossetin officers distinguished themselves in Prince Potemkin's army in

population. In short, Tiflis was designated to avenge the defeat which democratic socialism had suffered in Petrograd and Moscow. 665

The liquidation by military action of Menshevik Georgia under these circumstances became a vital necessity from the point of view of the Bolshevik leaders. By establishing Soviet power in Georgia they attained several aims simultaneously. In Russia proper Bolshevik prestige was greatly enhanced by the fact that a province of the Czarist Empire had been recovered. The British Empire was embarrassed by Russia's enlargement of her access to the Middle East. More important than all this was the blow inflicted by the young Soviet State on 'World Menshevism', which led to a strengthening of the Russian grip on certain sections of the working-class of Western Europe. S.U. 648

STALIN'S FIGHT AGAINST 'NATIONAL' BOLSHEVISM

The proclamation of the Georgian Soviet Republic was a victory for Bolshevism, but, as yet, not for Stalin personally, since the original leaders of the Georgian Communist Party were hostile to Stalin and to his views on Georgia's future within the framework of the Soviet Union. Those Georgian Bolsheviks who took over the Tiflis Government after the collapse of Menshevik rule considered Stalin as a kind of renegade, because he had completely stripped himself of any Georgian national feeling and was determined to uphold against the Georgians the interests of the central power, which were ultimately Russian interests. Knowing his Georgian compatriots, Stalin feared that even the Georgian communists would strive for a measure of independence detrimental to Soviet centralism. He felt that the Georgian people with its strong historical state traditions and occupying the largest single territory of Soviet Transcaucasia needed to be more thoroughly watched than the Armenians or the Azerbaidzhani Turks. S.U. 643 Ge. 665

It was always Stalin who insisted on curtailing the powers of the Georgian Bolsheviks while Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders of the early period were prepared to grant them far-reaching freedom within the Soviet framework. It was also Stalin's idea to press the Georgians into a Transcaucasian Soviet Federation in order to keep them better under control. Such a Transcaucasian Federation might have been a commendable solution for a *rapprochement* between Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaidzhani Turks; it might have even become a means for creating a united front of the three peoples against Moscow centralism. Stalin's intervention, however, brought a different sort of federation into being. For Stalin, federation was no end in itself, but just a temporary instrument of Soviet policy to be cast aside after its aim had been achieved. At a time when Soviet centralism was not strong enough to rule Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaidzhanis from S.U. 631 563 Ge. 642 Ca. 631 642

[Cf. category 635, p. 226 for continuity -- Analyst]

S.U. 631 563 Ge. 642 Ca. 631 642

Moscow, the Transcaucasian Federation was an intermediate agency by which the national sovereignty of the three republics could be limited. The cabinet of the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R. included ministers for agriculture, home affairs, home trade, finance, and local industry as well as the Chairman of the Transcaucasian State Planning Commission, who was usually a Russian. The existence of the Transcaucasian Federation enabled the Russian communists generally to play the role of arbiters.

Ge. 665 [642]

The Georgian communists felt the weight of the Transcaucasian Federation more than anybody else, for the headquarters of the federal government were in Tiflis. The recognized leaders of the Georgian communists, like Budu Mdivani and Philip Makharadze, energetically opposed Stalin's federation manœuvre and wanted Georgia to become a direct member state of the U.S.S.R., which in their view should be but a loose federation. The ideal solution which they aimed at was, however, to have no Soviet Union at all, but to be linked with the Russian communists only through the Communist International.

In the early twenties the Georgian communists showed many signs of an independent policy, confirming Stalin's anxiety as to the future relationship between Georgia and the Soviet State as a whole. If Georgia could not be independent from Moscow, they wanted her to keep at least as many prerogatives of an independent State as possible. Thus they resisted Russian control over the Georgian railways and ignored the foreign trade monopoly of the Moscow Government by concluding contracts with foreign companies directly. In doing so they were in accord with the recommendation which Lenin had given to the Transcaucasian communists shortly after the formation of Soviet Georgia. This is what Lenin had advised: 'Make the utmost intense and speedy economic use of the capitalist West by means of a policy of concessions and by commercial intercourse. . . .'[22] Soviet Georgia also wanted to maintain an independent attitude in relation to the other Transcaucasian Soviet Republics and their subjects. Thus certain categories of Armenians and Azerbaidzhanis were ordered to leave the Georgian Soviet Republic so that the country might assume a more homogeneous national character. Georgian women marrying citizens of other Soviet republics lost their Georgian nationality. The central Government in Moscow declared all these discriminatory practices null and void.

Ge. [641]

Despite all appearances the Georgian communists were by no means chauvinists. They knew only too well that their régime was unpopular and that they had to maintain themselves in power by making concessions in every possible direction, including concessions to nationalist feelings. When taking over the Georgian Government in February 1921 the Bolsheviks claimed a membership of 20,000, of whom about one-half were expelled from the party almost immediately after the